2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

society. In one instance a Delaware woman's white husband has become a peyotist; he sings peyote songs and has served as fire chief in meetings.

The minority role and the consciousness of this standing on the part of the Cherokee-Delawares has also promoted Pan-Indianism. Discrimination against the Indians would presumably lead to feelings of isolation, persecution, and difference, perhaps greater than actually existed, and hence strengthen Pan-Indian society.[32] It is difficult, however, to assess the extent of discrimination against the Cherokee-Delawares. It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize an Indian, whether on a racial or social basis. With the high incidence of past miscegenation, the high frequency of present-day mixed marriages, and the assimilation in dress, speech, and manners, a race bigot must have a high degree of perception to recognize and act against this minority. A number of tales of alleged discrimination were current in the community, but only one of these incidents (in rental housing) could be substantiated. Actual discrimination of any sort is probably rare, but there is a fairly widespread knowledge or belief that it exists. A universal awareness of past discrimination and exploitation and a knowledge of discrimination against Indians elsewhere are factors which encourage Pan-Indianism.

There are several other conditions which set the Cherokee-Delawares and other Indians apart as a minority group, and so contribute to Pan-Indianism. The Cherokee-Delawares have access to free services of government hospitals and schools, which in itself sets them apart from the whites. It also provides an opportunity for the Cherokee-Delawares to become well acquainted with Indians of other tribes. This is particularly true in schools where the association may be continued over a number of years. Government schools, however, are attended by the Cherokee-Delawares less frequently than formerly. Some of the attitudes of whites toward the Indian minority also serve to foster Pan-Indianism. To many an Oklahoman an Indian is an Indian, not a Cherokee, Kickapoo, or Delaware. The movies, the magazines, and other outlets of public information are constantly impressing upon him that he is an American Indian; no public agency impresses upon him the fact that he is a Delaware.[33] Many whites in Washington County were totally unaware that such a tribe as the Delaware existed. They were well aware, however, that there were many Indians in the county.

There are forces which hinder and oppose the development of Pan-Indianism, but it is difficult to assess many of them because they are of a negative and subjective nature. It is difficult to estimate, for instance, the pressure exerted by the dominant society for complete conformity. Whatever the extent of pressure for "100 per cent Americanism," it is not at present particularly noticeable; it seems instead that the Delawares are sufficiently assimilated linguistically, economically, and in

[32] Wirth, 1945, pp. 348-49, contains a pertinent discussion of this subject.

[33] Mead, 1932, pp. 67-68, noted these factors more than two decades ago.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859):1955
NM7 Delaware NM7
Shawnee NN17
[+50(B)]

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all [S 291] that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite [D 563] vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the D 142 face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and [D 164] healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance ridiculous. There were many good faces [D 191] among them, and also well dressed Indians

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7
Miami NP9

F D M 423 574 648 563 [682]

when the Delaware tried to exact "blood money" from the Miami to "cover the bones" of several of their people who had been murdered by the Miami, they were reminded firmly that they had been allowed to keep the money for the sales of Miami lands and that this should suffice. Joseph Richardville speaking for the Miami stated:

> Grand Fathers: You must recollect when you passed over the great mountains, & came to our country, that you were poor and destitute; you placed yourselves under our protection; we gave you lands, & at the Treaty of St. Mary's you sat in council with us. These we considered enough to satisfy you for all the injury our bad young men had done you; but it appears otherwise, for you continue to beg for more nothwithstanding all that has been told to you by our old chief who now lies sick in his wigwam. [Tipton, 1942, p. 764.]

When it was politic, the Iroquois assumed responsibility for their "dependents" to the point of pressing their claims. Thus Canassatego speaking to Representatives of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia at Lancaster on July 2, 1744, pressed the case of the Canoy who had been defrauded by the Whites (Lowrie and Clarke, 1832–34, vol. 1, pp. 724–725).

On July 1, 1749, the Iroquois Assuchquay spoke for the Canoy as follows:

I [694]

> As we were coming here the Canoy Indians gave us this string of Wampum, thereby putting their case into our Hands, which we undertook to Speak to. It seems when the Proprietories bought the Land between Delaware and Susquehanna from us, the Tract, as they told us, on which the Canoy Town stood was reserv'd out of the Grant on account of those Indians living there, & when they should quit it they were to have a Consideration paid them for it. This we think they are entitled to, as they have left the Land & Live among other Nations at Juniata; and as they tell us that they never receiv'd anything for their Land, we recommend it to you to see them paid. [Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 390.]

And when it suited their purposes, dependents were allowed to share the presents. There is on record an actual agreement between the chiefs of the Six Nations and the Commissioners of Pennsylvania dated January 1, 1789, which contains a clause noting that, "Two Munseys signed as being residenters on the land, but not owners" (Prov. Council Pa., Minutes, vol. 5, p. 512).

I 423 648 563

In the foregoing, we have described how the League functioned for its tenants, dependents, guests, and colonists. When the League began to sell the land from under dependent peoples, friction developed which was not to be resolved by the dictates of Onondaga. The attempt of the League authorities to prevent the Iroquois on the Ohio from receiving "presents from the Governor of Virginia" by labeling them "Hunters and no Counselors or Chief Men" (ibid., p. 478) convinced neither the Governor of Virginia nor the Indian frontiersmen of the League's power to enforce its decision. Likewise the state-

31: Snyderman E-5 (ca. 1948) 1951
NM9 Iroquois NM9
Delaware NM7

The new and alien philosophy, however, soon spread to the neighbors of the Iroquois and caused these onetime "subjects" to adopt the white man's vehicles and guarantees of ownership. The sorry experience of the Delaware beginning with the Walking Purchase induced them to demand a guarantee of title:

> The Land which we now inhabit was granted by the Miamies and Potawatomies which they have renewed last September in great council held at Fort Wayne in the presence of Captain Wells and the commanding officer of the Fort.
>
> They granted to us to occupy and possess said land for the benefit of our tribes & their prosperity. But prohibited the right of selling the same. But took us in as joint owners of Said Land or Country—lest the grant should in future day fall into the hands of the white people, wherefore they gave us no writing at the time this took place. But for security they gave us Wampum instead of a written Deed. Our chiefs are doubtful with regard of such pledges—and indeed experience ought to teach us the weakness of such a measure. By observation the population of the United States, it appears to us that all Indian claims will be extinguished by the white people before long. The Land in which we wish to dwell all our days will inevitably be sold from under the feet of our poor children after us. In that case what will become of them . . . They will be compelled to dispossess once more. We dread that evil very much in spite of the pledges of Wampum which was given to us.

The chiefs went on to ask for "assistance" as they and their people (the Delaware) were "poor and have no sure habitation." They pointed out that they now found themselves in the "same situation as the first Whites whom they befriended." They asked for "pity" and a "writing" so that they would not be dispossessed by the Whites, who now claimed almost the "entire country" (Parker, Daniel, n. d.).

The quoted plea of the Delaware summarizes the basic changes in Indian philosophy toward land; it is symbolic of the fears and tensions shared by the Iroquois and all their Indian neighbors. It seems certain that prior to white contact, land was given (though not deeded in our sense), and wampum was used as a promise in perpetuity providing the new owner behaved.

The translation of land to a salable economic commodity blurred tribal boundaries. In times prior to the arrival of the Whites, tracts of land were claimed and even occupied by several tribes who seemed to have lived peaceably together. A band which moved from a piece of land and neither occupied it for a number of years nor hunted on it, in fact relinquished its claim. The only recollections of its former residence remained in the folklore. The new and, to the Indian's way of thinking, "artificial" values placed on land by the Whites destroyed these principles. We now find them claiming land long after they moved away. This is also indicative of the fact that all Indian philosophy was foundering in the whirlpool created by the impact of crass materialistic motives against an idealistic and natural ideology.

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